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Bottoms Up — Happy New Year!

"Unto us a child is born . . ." On this first morning he's clean, bright and unspoiled. We hope he takes after his Montgomery kin and grows up without the grimmer traits of the family of man. Anyway he looks like a darling year because when he's slapped he knows enough to squawk.

THE BUS BOYCOTT ENDS

Montgomery Negroes keep 'Gandhi' calm in face of threats

By Eugene Gordon

TWELVE and a half months after Montgomery's 50,000 Negroes started their peaceful boycott of that Alabama city's jimcrow transportation system, they returned to the buses legally permitted to sit where they pleased. The protest began Dec. 5, 1955, following the arrest and conviction of Mrs. Rosa Parks, Negro needleworker, for refusing to yield her seat to a white man. It ended on Dec. 20, 1956, when the U. S. Supreme Court order outlawing bus segregation took effect in Montgomery.

Two Negro men entered a bus by the front door on the morning of Dec. 21, paid fares to a courteous driver and took seats at the front. They previously had had to pay at the front and then run to get on at the rear before the door closed. Sometimes the door was slammed before they could make it.

INSULTS IGNORED: Following the two Negroes, a white man sat directly behind them. An anxious statement by the city commissioners in the Montgomery **Advertiser** on Dec. 18 referred to "the tremendous impact" the high court ban must have on the people's customs. It said "the good order and peace of our city imperatively requires the separation of the races on the buses"—a clear incitement to violence, some persons thought.

Four carloads of white men at a downtown bus stop made a show of watching Negroes getting aboard and of conferring among themselves. A white man shouted to a photographer to "take that nigger's picture." Negroes ignored the insults. They had been exhorted at mass meetings the previous night to withstand any pressure, no matter how great. Montgomery Improvement Assn. vice president Ralph D. Abernathy told them:

"Let no one of you become violent. If someone beats you, let him beat you. We have won the victory. If violence breaks out in Montgomery, people all over the world will be in sympathy with us, the Negroes of Montgomery, because they will know the Negroes of Montgomery had nothing to do with violence."

12 GLORIOUS MONTHS: MIA president Martin Luther King Jr. said: "This is the time we must evince calm dignity and wise restraint. Emotions must not run wild. Violence must not come from any of us, for if we become victimized with violent interests we will have walked in vain. Our 12 months of glorious dignity will be

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MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.
The other cheek is turned

UN PONDERS NEXT STEP

Gaza remains hot potato as Egypt is evacuated

By Kumar Goshal

THE UNITED NATIONS chalked up a victory as British and French forces completed their evacuation of Egypt on Dec. 22. As a parting callow gesture of defiance, pranksters among the Anglo-French forces left a British and a French flag in the outstretched hands of the giant statue of Ferdinand de Lesseps—originator of the Suez Canal—dominating the Port Said harbor. Jubilant Egyptians dynamited the statue and in turn hanged British Prime Minister Eden in effigy.

UN Emergency Forces took charge of Port Said after the last of the British and French forces sailed from the harbor. It was understood that UNEF would hand over the city to Egyptian troops in two or three days, and proceed to Sinai to oversee the final departure of Israeli troops from the peninsula. Israel has agreed to evacuate Sinai, but insisted on holding the Gaza Strip, presumably as a lever to prod Egypt into negotiating a peace setttlement.

DISMAL FAILURE: UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold now faced the task of clearing the Suez Canal of sunken ships. Egypt was willing to use the Anglo-French salvage fleet but balked at engaging the British and French crews Port Said's canal authority director Tewfik el Dib asked: "If you were an Egyptian, would you want to work with British crews?" At last report, Hammarskjold was negotiating with Cairo to break this bottleneck.

The Anglo-French-Israeli military adventure against Egypt had failed dismally to achieve its objectives; in the face of this many UN members wondered what would happen next. Britain, France and Israel maintained that the UNEF must remain in Egypt to pressure President Nasser into accepting international con-

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JOE McCARTHY (REMEMBER HIM?) STARTED IT

O'Connor cleared of contempt

"IT IS NOW possible for an American citizen to have contempt for Joe McCarthy without having to go to jail," author Harvey O'Connor said last week on hearing the news that the Federal Court of Appeals had reversed his conviction for contempt of Congress.

O'Connor, who in his books has traced the sordid beginnings of **Mellon's Millions, The Guggenbeims** and **The Astors,** clashed with Sen. McCarthy in July, 1953, when the Senator was scrutinizing U. S. libraries overseas for sinister content or suspect by-lines.

Asked by McCarthy whether he was a "member of the Communist Conspiracy," O'Connor invoked the First Amendment and said that "my writings, my books and my political beliefs are of no legitimate concern to this committee."

When McCarthy suggested he take the Fifth, O'Connor told him: "I am not asserting the privilege against self-incrimination." He was indicted for contempt and then launched what many hoped would be a decisive legal test of the First Amendment.

ON PRINCIPLE: O'Connor freely told newsmen that he was not and had never been a member of the CP, but on principle refused to make a similar statement of his politics in court. In the contempt trial in October, 1955, the principal witness against O'Connor was McCarthy. Under cross-examination McCarthy insisted that the U. S. should not spread abroad books attacking prominent Americans. Then he was asked: "How about books which attack President Roosevelt as being responsible for Pearl Harbor?" McCarthy said: "Well, I believe that, so that's all right."

At a GUARDIAN birthday dinner on Nov. 17, 1955, O'Connor said he was ashamed of his country because it had banished GUARDIAN editor Cedric Belfrage who also had defied McCarthy. The next morning O'Connor was convicted and sentenced to a $500 fine and one year in jail. Federal Dist. Judge Joseph C. McGarraghy suspended the jail sen-

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Just A *gentle* Reminder

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Vol. 9, No. 11 401 December 31, 1956

REPORT TO READERS

Ring in 1957!

THIS HOLIDAY SEASON has been made especially rewarding for us here at the GUARDIAN by a stockingful of good things, all very meaningful to us and to you, too, we hope.

- The big present to all of us was the final victory by the Montgomery Improvement Assn. ending segregation in the city's bus lines after the historic one-year protest (see p. 1). We never doubted that the good people of Montgomery, Ala., would win out; and we are indebted, all of us, to Eva Grimes, whose series in the GUARDIAN last spring from Montgomery gave us the eye-witness picture of the beatific determination of the protesters.

- Here in the GUARDIAN office we have had our Yule spirits upped by a holiday visit from Mrs. Cedric Belfrage, home to spend Christmas with her folks and bringing cheerful reports of our Editor-in-Exile.

- Out in the Golden West Editor Jim Aronson and our returning world affairs analyst, Tabitha Petran, were accorded a whale of a welcome by well over 2,000 subscribers and friends—so friendly, in fact, that if we could spare them we'd keep them on the Good Will highways until spring. The Los Angeles gatherings we reported on two weeks back. In San Francisco more than 700 people turned out Dec. 14 at the California Hall, the largest gathering of Bay Area progressives in many a moon. Sunday, the 16th, the Vin Hallinans held a reception for Miss Petran and another good crowd came.

WHILE IN THE WEST, Editor Aronson made final arrangements for a new regular feature which we are especially proud to announce now as starting in an early January issue.

Anna Louise Strong will henceforth conduct her **Today** newsletter comments in the columns of the GUARDIAN, and those of her present readers who are not GUARDIAN subscribers we hope will join the GUARDIAN family.

The **Today** columns will appear monthly or periodically as Miss Strong produces them. The reason for this welcome development is that Miss Strong intends to travel more extensively than she has in the last several years and has wished to be relieved of the technical job of producing and mailing **Today** as a personal newsletter.

We think we're the big winners here, getting Miss Strong as a regular reporter for our columns; and we are delighted at the opportunity to bring her views and analysis to a wider readership. Incidentally, her new book, **The Stalin Era**, is going great guns. GUARDIAN readers alone have already ordered some 1,500 copies.

WE PROMISE MANY MORE such cheering announcements as we progress into 1957. As for '56, we're glad it's over. We know the scars it has left will heal. The good it has brought, especially in the field of freedoms, we think will not be undone. Guarding all gains, righting past wrongs and preventing new ones, getting to work on the unaccomplished on the road to peace, freedom and abundance—this is a big enough program for '57.

Let's hop to it.

—THE GUARDIAN

THE MAIL BAG

Cautious

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Your unsigned "Hungarian Turmoil Goes On" (12/10) is wisely cautious in avoiding wholesale condemnation of USSR or Hungarian Communists for mistakes and so forth. The world in this century of revolution presents problems to those who seek change, if more to those who want things as they are or as they were.

Perhaps incorrectly you manage to give the impression that more democracy is always good, whereas it may be that during a revolutionary transition premature dropping of controls may be a fatal step backward.

Part of that attitude—that all present changes are for the best—is your taking at face value the news that "Istvan Bibo, a member of Nagy's last cabinet . . . would rule out any proclamation of neutrality and all appeals to the UN, proposing instead a modification of the Warsaw Pact." This is the same Bibo who in a statement to the secretary of the U.S Legation said: "Now, when the liberation of East European countries has been almost realized in this historic moment, the only means by which world peace can be insured is by taking the risk of a world war." (See Elie Abel, N.Y. **Times**, 11/12).

Let us not look to Nagy or Bibo for the "brave new world." **J.W.**

That's telling 'em!

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The Un-American Activities Committee is the propaganda arm of the state for laying down a line of opinion and belief and for persecuting those who do not conform. General Holdridge was right. (A West Pointer and general through WW II, Holdridge accused the Committee of "subversion . . ., perjury, cowardice and treason.")

Reuben W. Borough

Reason, humility

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The Los Angeles GUARDIAN meeting had dignity and power. The talk, I felt, was for the people, not just progressives, and thus showed the maturity and breadth we progressives need. I hope Tabitha Petran never loses her aversion for public speaking, for in just talking to us she shared her experiences in Egypt and her penetrating analysis far more fully and compellingly than any orator could. She's as terrific on a platform as in print; although I suspect she doesn't know it.

I was most unhappy over the handling of the "pitch." This "we progressives gotta' fight!" approach has gotta' go! Unless we can stop visualizing progressives as a tight-knit, politically incestuous group, a lofty island of wisdom and courage from which salvation will flow, we will never escape the isolation we have frequently earned.

I guess this sense of being the elite was necessary in 1948; we were hammering out a new party. But in 1956 it has no place. On many issues more and more people are abreast of us in their thinking. People will be encouraged to speak out, not by a revivalist call to arms, but by the appeal to reason with humility such as Jim Aronson and Miss Petran demonstrated.

Merry Christmas to the GUARDIAN'S wonderful staff.

Amos C. Barstow Murphy

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

EXTRA SUN GLASSES, BADGES MAY BE READY FOR ATOMIC ATTACK

• • •

Defense Planners Compile List of Supplies Needed in Case Atomic Warfare Breaks Out

Headline in

Wall St. **Journal**, Oct. 22.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: C. K. K., Morrisville, N. J. Be sure to include original clipping (and date) of each entry.

Afterthought

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The Committee on Un-American Activities is unconstitutional and inimical to the best interests of a democratic country. At the committee's hearings here witnesses and lawyers were treated as only Goering treated them in Nazi-Germany.

From the hearings we went to the meeting of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. There was good, sincere and serious talk about new problems and different answers. On Dec. 5, I would have agreed that these differences were serious. On the evening of Dec. 7, after two days of those hearings, the differences seemed remote. What was threateningly close was the naked brutality of fascism. What was infinitely strengthening was the solidarity of witnesses and lawyers and spectators united, fused under fire into oneness with the single purpose to make America free.

We here in Los Angeles will not forget and not forgive what has happened on Dec. 6, 7 and 8, 1956. **Marie Hall**

Same pattern

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Jews in Egypt are being arrested daily as hostages and others take their lives in their hands when they go out into the streets. As usual, the pattern is the same—Jews beaten, imprisoned and slain, as the convenient scapegoats for the unhappiness and misery of the Egyptian people.

If our government can spend the money to fly thousands of Hungarians out of Hungary, they can do the same for the Jews, six million of whom died under the hands of the Nazis, while nothing was done to save them. **R. S.**

Warm, humane

YORK, PA.

I like the human picture given on Egypt and believe you are the only papepr that has not equated the Hungarian and Egyptian situations. I must mention while I'm at it the unusual quality of you Mid-East writer, Tabitha Petran. She has always been consistently good; warm, humane with tremendous pplitical understanding.

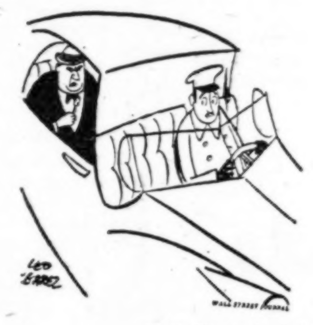
Name Withheld

$teak

WASHINGTON, KANS.

Another Chicago International Livestock Exposition is now history. The grand champion steer brought a new record price of $22,000. The steaks from this fabulous animal have now been eaten. Those corpulent individuals whose waistlines are much more of a problem than their bank accounts, who dined on this meat, can again listen to the doctor's advice about over-weight and high blood pressure.

After all the fun the steak eaters, the experts and the 4-H kids had at Chicago, anyone with the temerity to suggest that there is any "Alice in Wonderland" unreality in a $22,000 steer and the trappings that go with it should be summarily tried, convicted and shot. **Ernest B. Benne**



Wall Street Journal

"I'm tired of it all—drive off a bridge."

Short-sighted

MIAMI BEACH, FLA.

Socialism is the new system which has arisen and is rising in one-half of the world. It supplies the answers that capitalism cannot give. To say that the nation which attempts to practice this system is "a nation of bewildered people led by idiots" (Mailbag, 12/3) is to have a supercilious, short-sighted attitude. The Soviet Union has, in my opinion, committed very grave errors in the last 10 years and is perhaps committing the gravest of them now in Hungary, but many people in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are examining these errors and trying to correct them. **Harris Goldman**

Poetic license

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Last week, Vice-Pres. Nixon declared that the U.S. stand on Suez had created "a new moral force" in the United Nations and demonstrated to Asians and Africans that "we talk to them as moral equals."

All gladly agree to morality—
But first let us choose
Just Whose.
Up the standard of living or
Standard Oil?
Suez your own clues
As to Whose . . .

Eve Merriam

In memory

LAURELTON, N.Y.

Enclosed please find a check for $10, which I am contributing in memory of my husband. He believed in all the things you stand for, and in his lifetime gave of himself for the betterment of mankind. **Name Withheld**

Gruenther's position

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Sunday night, Dec. 16, I heard Gen. Gruenther in "Face the Nation" on CBS make the statement that, should the Red army attack, he would use, were he then commander of the NATO forces, atom and hydrogen weapons in defense against the enemy.

One newsman then asked him if that would not put us on record that we had started and opened an atomic warfare. Gen. Gruenther brushed this question aside and said that we would be doing so in defense.

He also said he did not think that the Soviet Union would attack but, he said, she might "by miscalculation."

Well, Gen. Gruenther is no longer commander of NATO, but he is, I understand, a candidate for the position of Secretary of State. Mr. Dulles likes to bring us to "brink of war." Let us hope he is not replaced by some atom trigger-happy warrior. Maybe letters to the President and Senators will help. **O. Y.**

Job at home

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In condemning the action of the Soviet government, we American socialists should be humble enough to recognize that a significant part of the tragedy of Soviet socialism and Budapest rests on the historic failure of Western Social Democracy to grow up to Democratic Socialism.

Let us American socialists understand that the most creative contribution we can presently make to those people struggling to democratize their planned economies, to end colonialism and industrialize their economies and to maintain democracy while involved in the primary accumulation of capital is to build a powerful united American democratic socialist movement which can materially and ideologically aid in a meaningful way the struggles of the people toward human freedom.

Hal Koppersmith

"THE MAN IN THE MIDDLE"

What Nehru said

INDIAN Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, after a six-day visit to the U. S., left for New Delhi on Dec. 21 with the impression that U. S. foreign policy "is not as rigid as I thought." He felt that "it is a flexible policy adapting itself to circumstances," but he could not say "how it will adapt itself."

Nehru arrived in Washington on Dec. 16 for four days of talks with President Eisenhower "at this critical moment in our history." He and his daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, spent the next day and night at the President's farm at Gettysburg, Pa., returning to Washington the following day.

During the next two days he saw Secy. of State Dulles, addressed the nation over the radio and TV, stood a barrage of questions from 500 correspondents at the Nat'l Press Club, and conferred with the Israeli and Syrian ambassadors. After another two days in New York, during which he conferred with UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold and addressed UN members informally, Nehru flew to Canada on his way home.

"MAN IN THE MIDDLE": The customary joint communique issued by Nehru and Eisenhower on Dec. 20 communicated little of what the two leaders had discussed informally at Gettysburg. The unusually brief communique merely expressed the conviction that the participants had reached a greater understanding that would help their "efforts toward peaceful and friendly intercourse among nations." Nehru's address to the nation was also in diplomatic language. It did not go beyond expressing India's policy of "peaceful co-existence" and "non-aggression and non-interference by one country in the affairs of another."

Nehru's Washington press conference and UN address were much more illuminating. At the Nat'l Press Club, he was introduced by president Frank Holeman as "the mystical man in the middle." Through a volley of questions often blunt and loaded, Nehru remained unruffled, gracefully bypassed questions he did not want to answer, gave straightforward replies to others.

WHAT HE SAID: Following are the highlights of what Nehru said at these two appearances:

- "The real question" about the Suez Canal was "what steps should be taken to get back to normality there"; but no steps should be taken which "offends [Egyptian] sovereignty in any way."
- "The Suez Canal should be open to all ships without exception," including Israel-bound ships. However, since Egypt interprets the 1888 Convention as giving her the right to bar ships of countries with which she considers herself at war (as with Israel), either "the World Court should be asked to interpret" the Convention or "we can sit down and have a new Convention."
- India has recognized Israel but has exchanged no diplomatic missions because "we felt we would be able to help" in the Middle East better this way, since "our relations with the Arab nations are very considerable, and in this matter there is considerable passion." Nehru believed that "the only way to settle" Israeli-Arab problems "is for those people to come together and settle it." He thought, however, that "after recent occurrences, it is infinitely more difficult for the present." India had "no magic plan" to solve the Middle East problems.
- India strongly disapproved of events in Hungary but felt that "a constructive approach"—such as action by the UN Secretary General—would be more fruitful than mere condemnation; "otherwise, people sit apart from each other, condemn each other, and nothing is done."
- Nehru found Chinese Premier Chou En-lai "a rather remarkable man and impressive." While he conveyed no message from Chou to Eisenhower, Nehru did explain to the President the Chinese feeling that they "have gone several steps forward" towards an understanding with the U. S. "but there has been no favorable reaction on the other side."
- "There is only one China," Nehru said, so what happens to Chiang Kai-shek's representative if Peking received UN recognition is irrelevant. To say that Formosa represents China "is slightly stretching the language."
- Nehru disclaimed "any claim to moral force for India as a country" but said that the late Mahatma Gandhi's moral force "set us a very fine example, and we try to keep it in mind, to the best of our ability."
- Although he did not agree with "many things in the Soviet Union in the past and in the present," Nehru found people there "extraordinarily friendly, hospitable and passionately desirous of peace." He thought "the post-Stalin policy" of liberation "cannot be suppressed or made to revert to the previous policy."
- Nehru felt that the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. "are remarkably near each other" in disarmament proposals and differences "can be easily ironed out" if "the background of lack of confidence" could be overcome. He said that a "leading personality of the Soviet Union" had admitted to him that Moscow had often acted quickly and at times wrongly, but that Russia had lived for the last generation in a state of siege in fear of an attack.
- All countries should be independent, Nehru said, and all foreign troops should be withdrawn as soon as possible. He was sure that "military alliances are completely out of place today," and that events in Egypt and Hungary had shown that even big powers could no longer violate the UN Charter with impunity.

A CLEAR VIEW: Nehru's visit to the U. S. gave Americans a better understanding of New Delhi's foreign policy than of Washington's, especially regarding the recognition of China as a major world force, colonial freedom and peaceful coexistence. It also demonstrated India's emergence as a major force for world peace.

Washington's reaction remained obscure for the time being. Nehru was evidently impressed by Eisenhower's sincerity, convinced that the President was a man of peace. Washington's future actions in relation to the issues Nehru emphasized will reveal to what extent Eisenhower's peaceful intentions will be put into practice and how fruitful the Nehru-Eisenhower discussions have been.

IKE TOOK HIS VISITOR DOWN TO THE FARM FOR A CHAT
What Nehru said about Ike's Black Angus cattle remains a state secret

THE CARDINAL HAS A WORD FOR "BABY DOLL"

'Martin Luther' barred from Chicago TV

A SHOWING of the film **Martin Luther,** portraying the life of the 16th century rebel against abuses in the church, was canceled last week by a Chicago TV station. The station, WGN-TV (Chicago **Tribune**), attributed the withdrawal to the sponsor, Community Builders, but leading Protestants said that pressure had been brought by the Catholic Church.

Protestant churchmen called the cancellation "a violation of freedom of the press." Thirty leaders asserted that the move "constitutes an admission on the part of the television station that it is vulnerable to pressures which we are convinced . . . have been mobilized by the Catholic Church." A Roman Catholic Chancellery official denied that a formal protest had been made to WGN.

But it was recalled that at the time the film was first issued, a Catholic Legion of Decency statement said that the film contained "theological and historical references which are unacceptable to Catholics."

In Washington, Glenn L. Archer, executive director of Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, said that he had asked for investigations by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Federal Communications Commission.

"BABY DOLL" BALLYHOO: New York also saw a furor over a film last week. In a rare statement from the pulpit of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Cardinal Spellman ordered Catholics not to see the film **Baby Doll** "under pain of sin." He said: "The revolting theme of this picture and the brazen advertising promoting it constitute a contemptuous defiance of the natural law."

The picture is the story of a pretty, empty-headed young girl who resists her husband's attentions in favor of a younger man who is trying to pin an arson charge on her husband. The ads depict "Baby Doll" lying in an ornate crib sucking her thumb. Under the picture is the caption: "She makes her husband keep away. She won't let the stranger go."

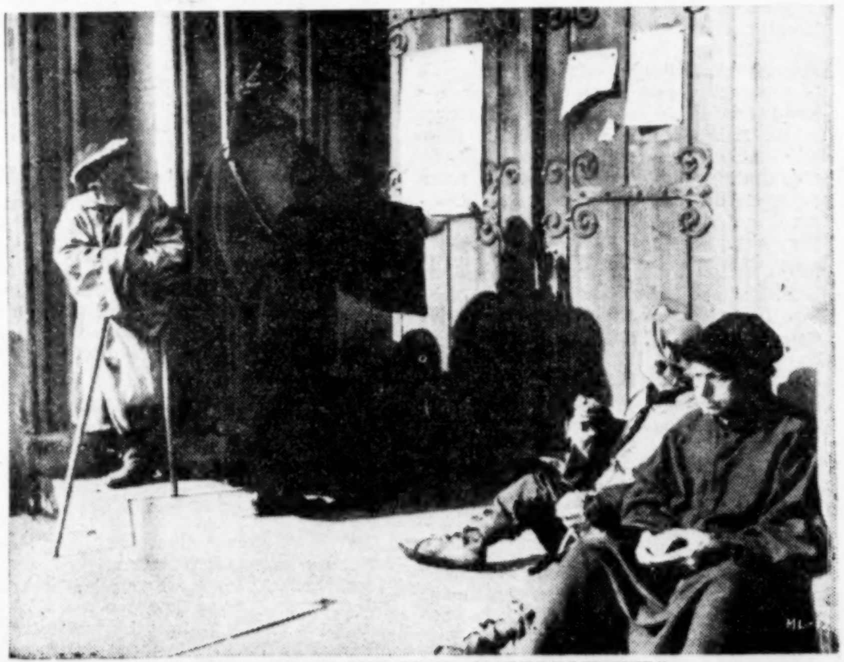
The critics found the acting excellent, the story thin. Both author Tennessee Williams and director Elia Kazan issued defiant statements on the Cardinal's action. Several Protestant and Jewish clergymen attended the opening night showing. Very Rev. James A. Pike, Dean of the Cathedral of St. John, said pornography was not an issue but that the picture was "definitely unsuitable for any but adults."

DIFFERENT IN LONDON: Rabbi William F. Rosenblum of Temple Israel said: "I do not see any invitation to sin in the picture. Sin is not made attractive in it."

In London the director of Britain's Roman Catholic Film Institute said he could "see no reason why adult Catholics should not see" **Baby Doll.** He would not comment on Cardinal Spellman's action, but said he regarded the film as a "brilliant piece of work on a decadent subject." It was obviously not the "sort of thing for thoughtless people," he said.

The Cardinal's statement and the ensuing publicity was good box office. On opening day the film took in $6,400, a record for recent months at the theater. The previous record of $6,526 was held by **The Man With the Golden Arm,** also on the Legion of Decency's proscribed list.

FOOTNOTE ON FREE PRESS: Seventy-two hours after the Cardinal's statement, the N. Y. **Post** was alone among the seven big New York dailies to comment. It didn't like the Cardinal's action. The silence, said the **Post** (12/19), is "as revealing as anything that might be said on either side of the argument."



A SCENE FROM THE FILM "MARTIN LUTHER"
Luther nails his challenging theses to the cathedral door

The kind of news
you get in Guardian
is priceless.
Help our sub drive!

TO END THE STALEMATE

Kadar reported seeking Hungary coalition rule

By Elmer Bendiner

IN BATTLE-TORN HUNGARY, picking itself up from debris-littered streets and scarred fields, facing a winter with too little fuel to run its factories or heat its homes, the government of Premier Janos Kadar was reported planning a coalition government to restore confidence. According to reports from Vienna, there have been negotiations with the Smallholder and Peasant parties that figured in the last cabinets of Imre Nagy, and with Nagy, himself, reported to be in Rumania.

But the Kadar government was unyielding in its conviction, never shared by Nagy or any of his cabinet, that what happened in Hungary was an attempted counter-revolution. Sam Russell, Budapest correspondent of the London **Daily Worker**, reported the declaration of the provisional executive committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party on Dec. 3:

"We feel that the time has come to declare openly that this was counter-revolution and that, however just the demands put forward, the action taken during those days weakened the Hungarian People's Republic and only helped the forces which wanted to overthrow the Republic.

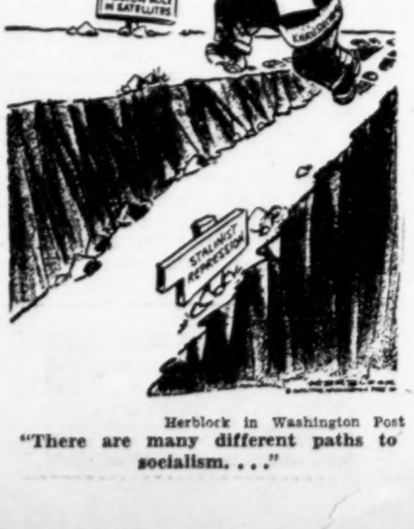
"We are going to fight for the recognition of this truth, not only in the interests of the Hungarian working people, but in the interests of the international working-class movement as a whole."

"HORTHY FASCISTS": The committee condemned the "sectarian and dogmatic policy" of the "Rakosi-Gero clique" but also criticized Nagy and the Petofi Circle of writers, who began the protests, for "taking criticism outside the party, thus making it easy for the enemies of socialism to take advantage of the situation."

Most of the blame was laid to "Horthy fascists and other counter-revolutionary elements . . . backed by U.S. dollars." These were said to have sent in an "advance guard" before the demonstrations of Oct. 23. One of Kadar's ministers told a news conference in Budapest that an anti-Jewish pogrom, planned by rebels, had been frustrated by imposition of martial law.

Inside Hungary there was neither victory nor defeat for the government but only what N.Y. **Herald Tribune** columnist Walter Lippmann called a "stalemate." Just as Kadar hotly defended his own view of the tragedy while seeking in practice a policy of cooperation with all forces except the most reactionary, so was Moscow talking tough and practicing conciliation.

"NO SUCH DOCTRINE": Pravda, organ of the Soviet CP, sharply scolded Poles and Yugoslav for "talk about imaginary national communism." An article by **A.** Azizyan, in answer to one in the Polish paper **Nowa Kultura,** stressed loyalty not to nations but to the socialist world and reaffirmed the old slogan: "Workers of the World Unite." The Polish paper had called for "co-existence" among socialist states and a fight against "Stalinism." Concerning this **Pravda** said: "We know of no such doctrine."


RELAXATION OF MOSCOW RULE IN SATELLITES
STALINIST REPRESSION

Herblock in Washington Post

"There are many different paths to socialism. . . ."

Izvestia said the ancient crown of St. Stephen, reportedly liberated by U.S. forces after World War II, was rushed from the "banks of the muddy Potomac" to West Germany to be ready for the crowning of Otto of Hapsburg in Budapest as soon as the counter-revolution was successful.

THE GOMULKA PATH: Still, the Soviet Union was reported ready to approve a coalition government in Budapest that might take the path of Wladislaw Gomulka in Poland. Its attitude to Warsaw was demonstrated by the military pact with Poland signed by Foreign Minister Dmitri Shepilov and Defense Minister Zhukov. It declared the presence of Soviet troops in Poland to be temporary; guaranteed Poland against infringement of sovereignty or other interference by the garrisons, gave Poland a voice in all troop movements inside the country and put Russian soldiers under Polish law. Lippmann commented that the agreement "puts an end to the Soviet military occupation of Poland. It establishes a relation between the Red Army and the Polish government which . . . is not essentially different from that which exists within NATO for the British and American troops on the continent."

New Poland, London

Hungary had given the continent more than a subject for bitter debate and violent recrimination. It gave many the jitters. The Paris daily **Le Monde** (12/13) said editorially: "Imagine an uprising of the people of East Germany. Imagine the Red Army trying to crush that insurrection. Nothing could prevent the Bonn soldiers from coming to the aid of their Pankow brothers. Whether they like it or not, the NATO powers would be practically forced to support their allies. As in 1914, as in 1939, a local European conflict would spread to the whole world."

The Bonn government's Minister of Defense Strauss reportedly said: "If only we had a German army. We would have marched to Hungary and settled the whole question."

PARIS ATMOSPHERE: GUARDIAN's Paris correspondent Anne Bauer said the French political temperature, at fever pitch as the result of Hungary, was beginning to subside. A local municipal election in a traditionally Communist Paris suburb showed the CP holding its own. An opinion poll on Hungary taken by the weekly **Express** turned up an answer from a worker that seemed typical:

"I admit that at first I was confused. But then I saw who in France supported the Hungarian rebels. Certainly, all that has happened in Hungary isn't pretty. But at present, after the Egyptian business, the first duty of the working class is to fight fascism in France. And events have shown that the CP is the only party to stand up physically against fascism."

Miss Bauer wrote: "The questions that are beginning to be asked among the progressive left now go to the bottom of events, and look beyond Hungary, to the future of socialism. How can the monumental errors, the divorce between party and the masses that occurred there, be avoided elsewhere in the future? How can socialism—at this time which may be a turning point in history—be made safe for progress and justice and happiness in the future?"

MASKS AND TEETH: U.S. official reaction was mixed. Highjinks keynoted policy in some quarters. The Senate Internal Security subcommittee put on the stand Hungarians in masks and assumed names to tell of atrocities. Sen. Olin Johnston (D-S.C.) posed for news photographers inspecting the mouth of a refugee to see first-hand the site of two teeth allegedly knocked out by Hungarian communists. Vice President Nixon was astonishing officials of Austrian villages by kissing babies as he passed through on an inspection tour of the refugee centers.

There was, however, a hint that U.S. policy might be appraised along the lines long recommended by India, whose diplomats have been saying that no solution can be found for Hungary or any other major problem while two opposing power blocs confront each other. Both of those blocs, the Warsaw Pact and NATO, have lately shown a tendency to disintegrate. Secy. of State Dulles at a news conference said that if Eastern European nations became "genuinely independent" —presumably like Poland and Yugoslavia —the U.S. might review its policies on NATO.

The review, though pegged to changes in East Europe, might have to come in any case, some observers said, before the strains within NATO tore it apart.

THE WITCH-HUNT WINS ON A LEGALISM

30 N.Y. teachers lose high court appeal on jobs

A SLIM TECHNICALITY— an attorney called it "a form of words"—last week barred 30 teachers from their jobs in New York City schools and preserved the witch-hunt in education.

In 1952 and 1953 some 30 N. Y. teachers invoked the Fifth Amendment when their beliefs and associations were probed by Senate investigating committees. Section 903 of the City Charter was then used to fire them. The section calls for dismissal of any city employee who uses the Constitutional privilege when questioned about his duties, or about city property and affairs.

Thirteen of the teachers filed suit and later 17 others stipulated that they would let their cases ride with the 13. They claimed that Section 903 did not apply because they were employed not by the city but by either the Board of Education or the Board of Higher Education. They also claimed that the law applied only to questioning by officials having some authority over city education, not by Congressional committees on a witch-hunting spree.

SLIM MARGIN: In any case, the teachers held, the process of hearings with faceless informers and concealed evidence violated the Constitutional guarantees of due process.

Throughout the long legal battle that has been waged, principally by the Teachers Union, the decisions have always turned on slim majorities. In 1954 the N. Y. State Court of Appeals in a 4-3 decision upheld the dismissals, though it declined to rule on the matter of due process. The case went to the U. S. Supreme Court which last April ruled in a 5-4 decision that Prof. Harry Slochower of Brooklyn College had been denied due process and was therefore entitled to reinstatement.

The case of Dr. Julius Hlavaty, a high school teacher, had been in the legal mill for three years. Independently of the others, he argued that his Constitutional rights had been violated not only by the lack of due process but by his dismissal for use of the Fifth Amendment, no matter what the process. After the Slochower ruling, Hlavaty was ordered reinstated. Hlavaty went back to his school but Brooklyn College President Harry S. Gideonse indicated he would find other reasons to keep Prof. Slochower from the classroom.

FEDERAL QUESTIONS: When the Supreme Court ruled on Prof. Slochower it also had the appeal of the 13 before them. The High Court said it could not consider this appeal because the question of Federal law had not been raised in the state courts. Actually, as attorney Osmond K. Fraenkel, acting for the Teachers Union, pointed out, the Federal questions were raised in the text of the petition but not in the "head notes."

Fraenkel asked the state courts to stipulate that the questions had been raised which would have met the objections of the Supreme Court, but he was turned down. He then appealed for Supreme Court reconsideration. City Corporation Counsel Peter Campbell Brown argued that the Federal question was not properly raised and therefore the Supreme Court could have no jurisdiction.

Last week the decision came down, again by a narrow margin. The Court refused to hear the appeal, although Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black and Douglas were listed as voting to give the teachers a hearing.

Mrs. Rose Russell, Teachers Union legislative representative, commented that "legal technicalities cannot absolve the Bd. of Higher Education of a moral obligation to rectify an injustice which they inflicted in the first instance . . ."

ON OTHER FRONTS: The City Administration pressed the school witch-hunt on other fronts as well. Corporation Counsel Brown went to Albany to persuade the State Supreme Court to overturn a ruling by State Education Commissioner James E. Allen. Last August Allen had ruled that no teacher could be fired for refusing to inform on his colleagues. Brown called the ruling a "radical and dangerous exception to the principles of law" which "thwarted and impeded" the city's efforts to hunt out communists.

ROSE RUSSELL
Enough of technicalities

Appearing for the State Education Dept. Dr. Charles A. Brind, Jr., not only defended Dr. Allen's ruling but contended that it was purely a matter of departmental policy and that the Commissioner could be over-ruled only if he were proven to be "arbitrary or capricious." The Court reserved decision.

In the city the Board of Higher Education, in its regular report to the State Education Commissioner, announced that another 13 staff members of the city colleges were now under investigation.

ANOTHER LOOK AT THE MIDDLE EAST

The progressive Israeli point of view

Richard Yaffe, the author of the following communication, is a veteran newspaperman. He is at present the managing editor of Israel Horizons, *and member of the Board of Americans for Progressive Israel.*

By Richard Yaffe

WOULD THAT EVERYONE tried for the objectivity Kumar Goshal sought in his articles on the Middle East! There are, however, a few points that need clarification.

1. You state that "in its attempts to surmount the monumental difficulties of its economic problems it [Israel] has been obligated to adopt democratic and even socialistic measures at home." It was never "obligated" to adopt democratic measures; this was inherent in the nature of the pioneering forces that built Israel.

Where else is there such a political spectrum, all represented in parliament, and all with a vociferous, uncurbed press? Where else, for example, can one who seeks socialism find so many paths offered by so many parties, ranging from the mild Laborite version all the way over to the left, to the Communists who are free and represented in the Knesset, with plenty of stops between?

MRS. GOLDA MEIR
Destinies to be worked out

THE KIBBUTZIM: Actually, neither democracy nor socialism is manifested **because** of Israel's emergency but **despite** it. The collective setttlements, the kibbutzim, while they may have been built in the first instance because they were a necessity, derived their form and ideology not through accident but through the socialist-collectivist philosophy of the people who founded them.

The bulk of Israel's farmland is owned by the people collectively, through the Jewish National Fund. And between the Histadrut (Federation of Labor) and government enterprises, they own both the natural resources of Israel and the major industrial, construction and development enterprises. Again, this was not out of necessity but out of the very nature of the people who made Israel possible.

You will note that I said it was **people** who made Israel possible, and not alone money from other Jews elsewhere, including America.

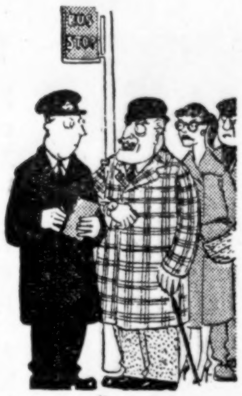
2. While it is true that the Arabs have identified Israel with imperialism, this identification is false, the product of Arab leaders' propaganda. Foreign Minister Golda Meir's statement concerning this (Dec. 5) to the Assembly is correct, I believe: "It is not, as has been here alleged, Israel which is the instrument of colonialism. It is the Israel-Arab conflict which keeps the area at the mercy of dangerously contending outside forces. Only by the liquidation of that conflict will the people of the region be able to work out their own destinies in independence and hope."

NO FOREIGN BASES: The pot in this case is blacker than the kettle. While it is true that Israel has been the recipient of tremendous sums both from the Jews of America and from the U.S. Treasury itself in the form of grants, the fact is that **there is not one single foreign military base on Israel soil.** What other state in similar circumstances can make that claim? Take a look at the Middle Eastern map of the states surrounding Israel and find which has Israel's record in this regard.

It seems to me that being the head of a rising nationalist state newly emerged from colonialism does not make a Nasser **per se** a democrat or even progressive. It was not in the knapsacks of Israel's soldiers that copies of **Mein Kampf** were found.

3. I cannot agree with Waldo Frank, nor with your approval of his words, that Israel must cease depending on "world Jewry which is dependent on these [colonial] powers." It would be better if it did not have to depend on world Jews **financially,** because it would mean that Israel is, at last, able to stand on its own feet economically. The financial burden world Jewry undertook was because of the tremendous immigration Israel has had to absorb. Who else was ready to take in the Jews from Yemen, Iraq, Morocco, Libya and now Egypt as well as other countries in Europe and elsewhere? The ties, however, are deeper than dollars. It is unthinkable that a dispersed people should not have sympathetic ties with the land which now gives them nationhood and, if they wish it, citizenship (there is a difference), or that the state shall not have close ties with them. I call attention to India's reaction to the discrimination against Indians in South Africa.

A LOOK TO ASIA: As for Israel's isolation from the Asian world in which she properly belongs, I would call attention again to Mrs. Meir's speech: "The swift process of African-Asian emancipation is reflected by the addition to our body [the United Nations] of many countries which, like my own, had until recent years been under colonial or mandatory tutelage. We on the Western limits of Asian continent are identified with these other countries of Asia in their struggle for independence, and we have rejoiced with them in their ultimate triumph. We look to them, out of their own experience, to have understanding for our desire to maintain our own national existence in peace and independence."



Lancaster in Daily Express, London
"I suppose you're having to send all the No. 11 buses round by the Cape!"

I would also refer you to Premier Ben Gurion's recent address to the Histadrut. He also identified Israel with Asia and declared that while he understood that **any** white people coming to Asia would be accused of being a tool of imperialism and would have a rough time winning the friendship and trust of the colored areas of the world, Israel must double and redouble its efforts to do so.

As for his saying to CBS's Edward R. Murrow that "the Arabs understand nothing but force," it seems to me that he said bluntly what could have been said more diplomatically but no more accurately: That neither did the Arabs listen nor the UN do anything about Israel's constant calls for peace; that, in fact, this only aroused the bellicosity of Israel's neighbors to the point where Israel's people were not safe in their beds any longer from government-sponsored Egyptian fedayeen.

THE DIE WAS CAST: It is not for me, nor the organization with which I am affiliated, to condone preventive war or massive retaliation. Mapam consistently opposed it, and voted against it until the last moment; but when the die was cast, it threw its wholehearted support to the people of Israel. This was as it should have been. Mapam has never minimized the dangers and the hate flowing across Israel's borders from the Arab states, nor is it a pacifist, turn-the-other-cheek party. And despite the fact that it saw clearly the consequences of the venture, it does not now say, "I told you so," but seeks to have Israel go on from here towards a lasting peace and friendship with all nations, and especially those with whom it must live and trade forever.

These, of course, are both the Arab and Asian nations. One perhaps cannot see an immediate change of attitude among the Arab states (see Iraqi Fadhil Al-Jamali's speech in the UN breathing fire at Israel and demanding its demise), but the attitude of the other Bandung nations, and particularly India, continues to surprise and disturb us. Have they—and she—held out a welcome hand to Israel? Has India ever implemented her recognition of Israel by an exchange of diplomats? It was not Israel that shunned Bandung, but Bandung that shunned Israel.

Yes, Virginia, there is a Santa Claus

RICHMOND, Oct. 12 (AP).—General Electric Co. President Ralph J. Cordiner said his company is interested in Virginia because of the right of its citizens to work without being forced to join any organization.

He promised "We'll be interested in more facilities in Virginia" as long as the State remains what it is.

Mr. Cordiner spoke yesterday at a Richmond club during a tour of GE plants.

"We believe," he said, "that we should go to States that have right-to-work laws. That's where we feel we should invest our shareholders' money."

Virginia has a right-to-work law which holds a person may work anywhere without being forced to join a union.

Mr. Cordiner's firm has put two multi-million-dollar plants in Virginia within three years, at Roanoke and Waynesboro.

—Washington **Star,** 10/12

GOSHAL REPLIES TO YAFFE

Needed: A means other than force

I APPRECIATE the compliment Richard Yaffe pays to the "objectivity" of my Middle East articles. Space does not permit discussion of all the points he raises, but I would like to make a brief reply.

Yaffe himself admits that the collective settlements—indicating the application of socialist principles—originally "may have been built . . . because they were a necessity." Beyond that, I have received the impression from members of Yaffe's organization that the Israeli government tolerates the kibbutzim as a necessity rather than encourages them.

RECORD IN UN: Israel's voting record in the UN on colonial issues would seem to support the "Arab leaders' propaganda" identifying Israel with imperialism. Undoubtedly Israel herself has no imperialist ambitions, and certainly most of the Arab lands are ruled by feudal dictators. Yet, in 1953, before the Suez crisis, Israel in the UN either cast negative votes or abstained on Asian resolutions calling for Moroccan and Tunisian independence. In 1954 she abstained on the issue of W. New Guinea's freedom from Dutch rule and opposed a resolution asking the UN to resume the subject at its next session. In 1955 Israel not only opposed the Asian-African resolution on Algeria's freedom but praised French rule in Algeria. Israel even abstained on the issue of the UN's competence to decide whether "a Non-Self-Governing Territory has or has not attained a full measure of self-government." In contrast, on the record, the Arab nations consistently voted in the UN for colonial freedom. This record weakens Mrs. Meir's statement—quoted by Yaffe—that Israel has "identified" herself with other Asians in the Afro-Asians' "struggle for independence".

QUESTION OF FORCE: I cannot agree that, in saying "the Arabs understand nothing but force," Premier Ben-Gurion "said bluntly what could have been said more diplomatically but no more accurately." For Israel's military victory over the Arabs in 1948 and in Sinai this year obviously has not persuaded the Arabs to listen to "Israel's constant calls for peace" but has increased "the bellicosity of Israel's neighbors." This prospect, I am sure, prompted Mapam's consistent opposition to preventive war, to which Yaffe refers.

By quoting Waldo Frank to the effect that Israel must cease depending on "world Jewry" for financial aid, I was not criticising sympathy for and economic aid to Israel by Jews abroad. Such aid was obviously indispensable in the past period of emergency. Yet it is difficult to deny, I think, that such aid creates obligations on Israel's part in return, not to Jews as a whole living abroad but to the donors of such aid who are politically influential in their own countries. In any case, it seems to me Israel in the future would be better off obtaining economic aid through such international organizations as the proposed UN Special Fund for Economic Development. Organization of **SUNFED** has been urged by other under-developed nations of the world, who wish to remain independent of any power bloc.

SEARCH MUST GO ON: Israel's existence must be recognized and accepted by the Arab nations. But geography has placed Israel in the midst of the Arab world. Her economy can become viable only through economic cooperation with her neighbors.

The question arises as to the best means for promoting not merely a prolonged armed truce but friendly cooperation between Israel and her neighbors. Since force on two occasions seems to have failed disastrously, is it unreasonable to ask people of good will to search for other methods?

Kumar Goshal

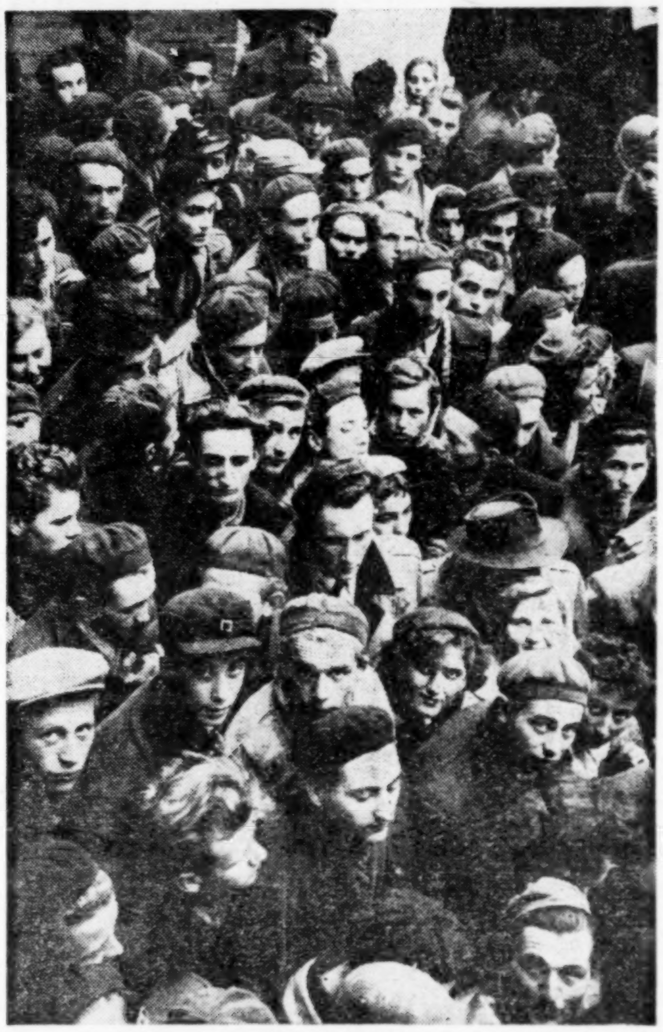
MANY PATHS TO PEACE, FREEDOM AND JUSTICE

1956: The year of the man in the streets

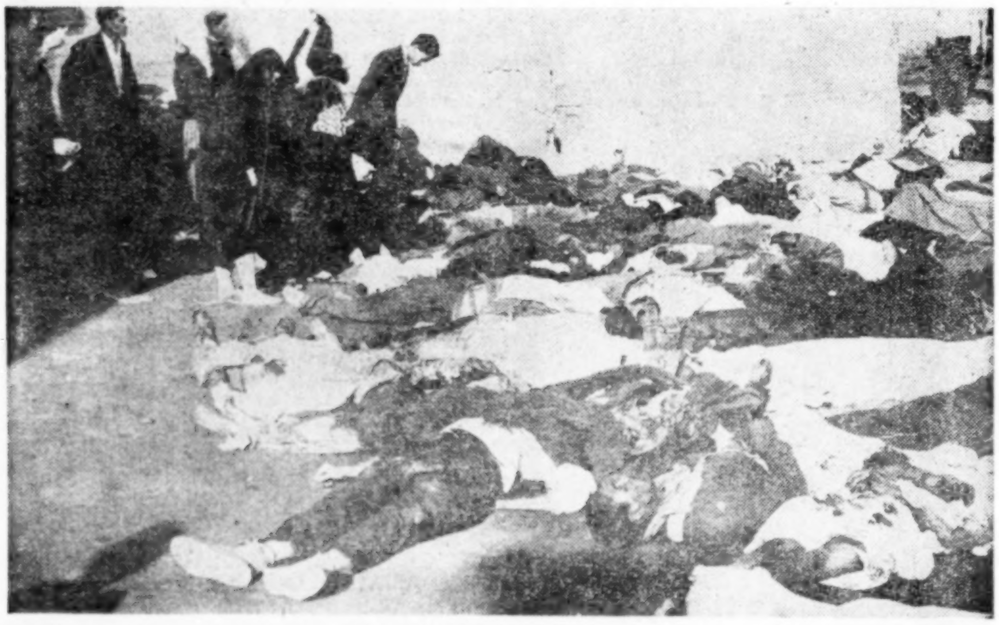
THE YEAR 1956 STARTED quietly. The usual protests and struggles of the few were being watched passively—or were ignored—by the many. The cold war had become tepid. Old style colonialism continued its slow retreat. So did racism in the U. S., where the struggle initiated in Montgomery, Ala., was carried forward with a quiet non-violent determination.

Then something happened. Was it the down-grading of Stalin in the Spring? Was it Suez? Or was it the maturing of an underlying crisis which affected people in different places in different ways, but nevertheless affected them all?

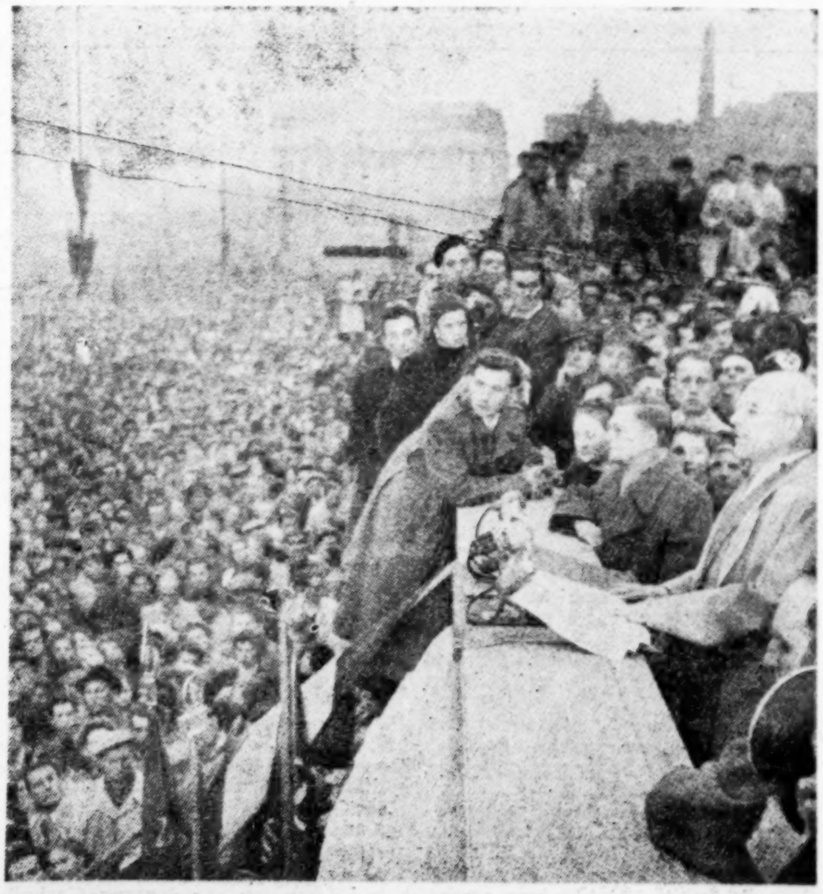
Whatever the cause, before 1956 was over masses of people around the world were in the streets, moving and making their voices heard. Their directions might appear to be confused or even contradictory but in spite of differences in tactics or emphasis, the people everywhere called for peace and freedom with what they considered to be justice.



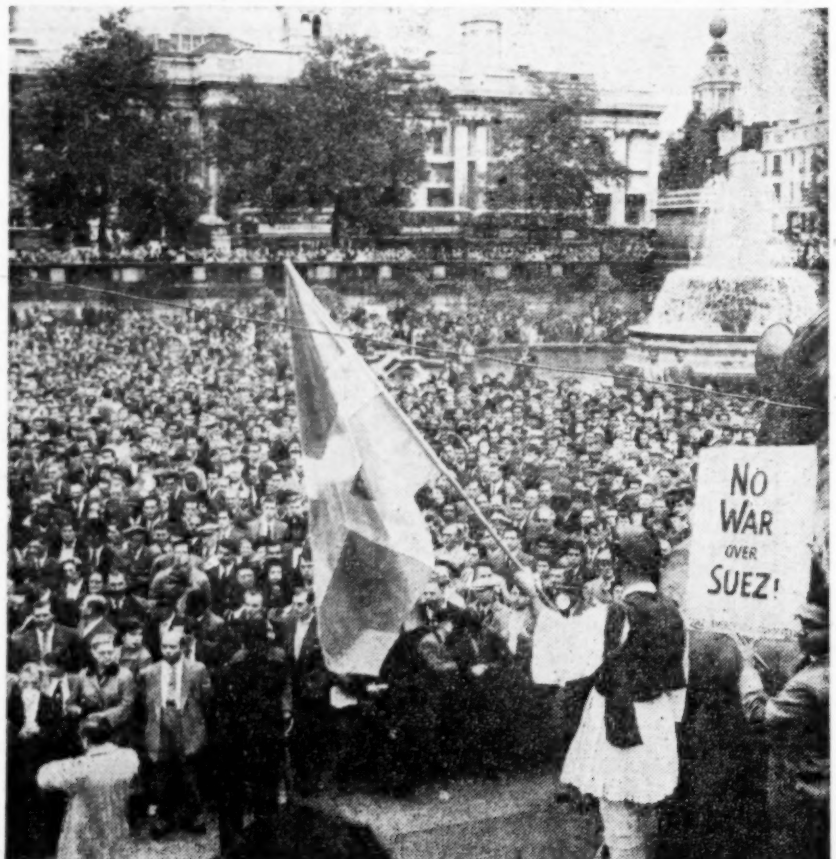
Was it nationalism, fascism, Titoism or new paths to socialism that inspired these young Hungarians, shown stranded and homeless in Austria?



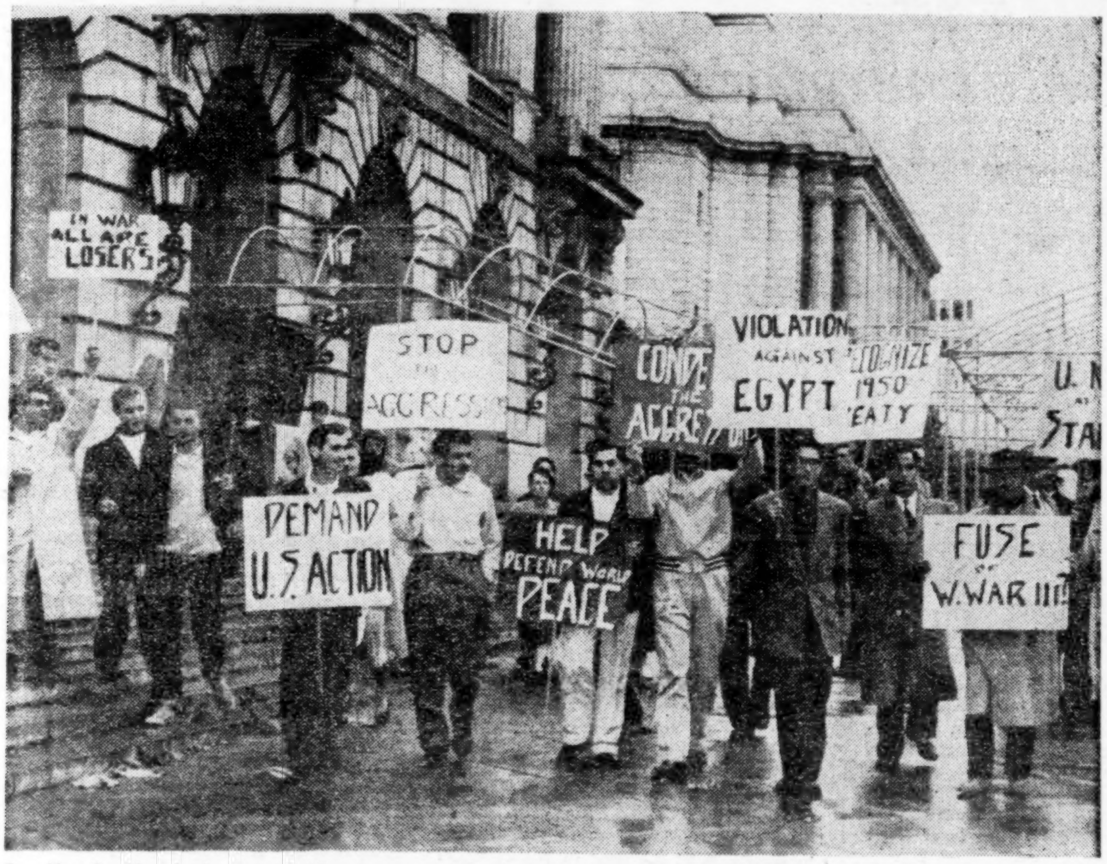
While in a temporary morgue in Port Said the people sought among the crowds of the dead for friends and relatives, victims of the Franco-British bombing.



And in late October the Polish people came out, 300,000 strong, to hear Premier Gomulka's report on the new and independent regime.

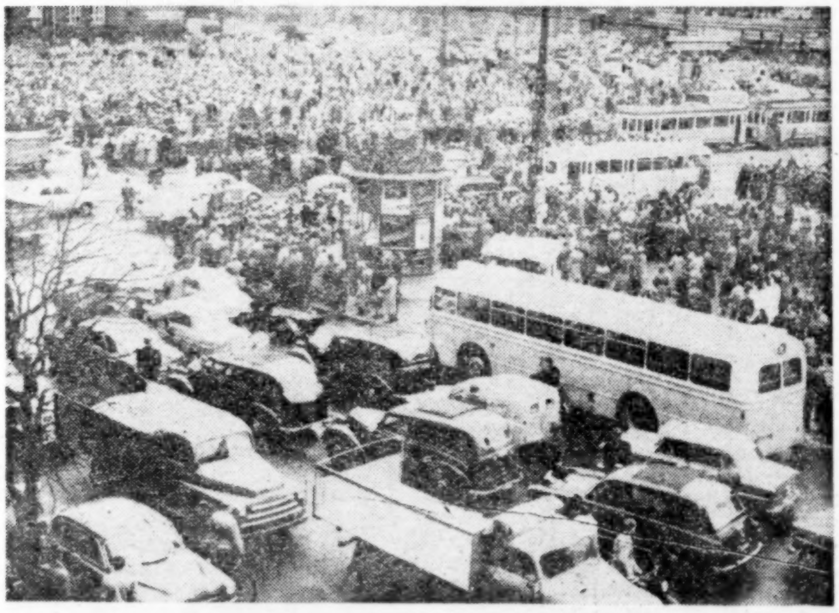

NO WAR OVER SUEZ!

British people—and visiting colonials—filled Trafalgar Square in mid-September in an alert against the war threat.


IN WAR ALL ARE LOSERS
STOP THE AGGRESSI
VIOLATION AGAINST EGYPT
DEMAND U.S. ACTION
HELP DEFEND WORLD PEACE
FUSE OF W. WAR III!

On the farthest shores of the new world, students demonstrated in San Francisco before a war memorial building against the war threat.

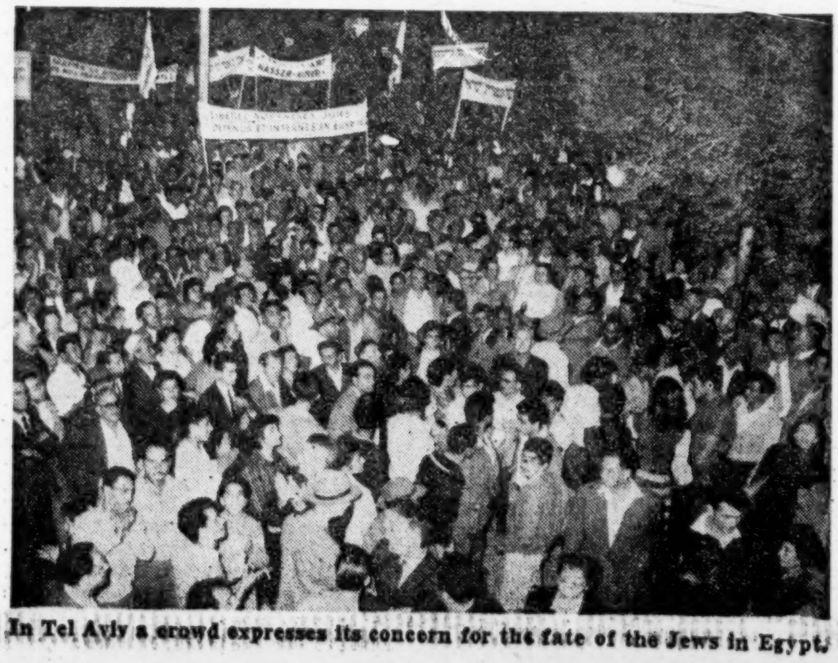
And students in Moscow did the same in front of foreign embassies.



Traffic and pedestrians stopped for five minutes of silence in Copenhagen, Denmark, during the Hungarian trouble.

While the Greek people looked toward a free Cyprus and fought with their own police.

Parisian students marched in sympathy with the Hungarian rebels.



In Tel Aviv a crowd expresses its concern for the fate of the Jews in Egypt.

TRUTH IS TAKEN OUT OF THE HOLLOW OF A HAND

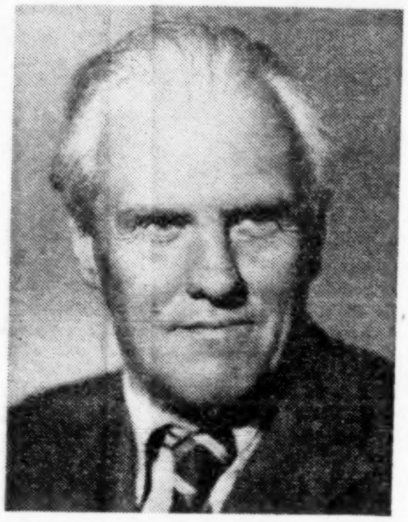
French and Soviet writers debate Hungary

DURING the Dreyfus trial in France Emile Zola said: "Truth is not a simple, easily handled object that can be shown in the hollow of a hand and can at will be put into the hands of others like a pebble or an apple."

Claude Roy, French Communist writer and author of **Into China**, quoted Zola in the midst of an extended debate over Hungary between French left-wing writers and educators and their Russian counterparts. While the debate has torn apart the left wing in many countries and set Communists to furious invective, expulsion and recrimination, the dialogue with the Russians went more amiably. Each side, though heated, credited the other with noble intentions, but a failure to see "the whole truth." The clash came in the pages of the left-wing but non-communist Paris weekly **L'Observateur.**

Roy, Jean-Paul Sartre, Vercors, Simone de Beauvoir and 17 others opened with a letter "Against Soviet Intervention." They expressed horror at the tragedy of Russian tanks shooting workers who demanded reforms. They disassociated themselves from other protest signers who had applauded the overthrow of liberty in Guatemala and the invasion of Suez.

JUST GRIEVANCES: Soviet writers, including Mikhail Sholokov, Nikolai Tikhonov, Konstantin Simonov and 32 others answered: "You are deceived. You do not see the whole truth." The Hungarians had legitimate grievances, said the Russians, admitting that "we too bear a part of the responsibility. The fraternal duty of our country, inspired by its experience in the building of socialism, was to help the Hungarian leaders . . . as comrades . . . to take the road of resolute correction of the grave faults which had been committed." The Russians said that in view of the Hungarian leaders' inability or disinclination" to correct, the Soviets should have criticized them openly.



SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR (above) and NIKOLAI TIKHONOV

When the Hungarians first demanded reforms, the Russian letter said, they were hailed sympathetically in the Soviet Union, troops were withdrawn from Budapest and on Oct. 30 came the declaration looking toward improved relations in the socialist world. Then "counter-revolution decided its hour had come."

It was not a secret from anyone, said the Russians, that West German and British planes had flown into Budapest with hundreds of officers of the old Horthy regime who had fought in Hitler's army. Americans at the "Salzburg Center" were launching pamphlet-carrying balloons, organizing spies and diversionists equipped with portable radio transmitters.

THE WHITE TERROR: They cited broadcasts from Radio Free Europe and recalled the horrors of the white terror that many of the Russian signers knew at first hand. They reminded their French correspondents of the Nazi terror in France and said that had the Soviet troops not intervened, the French might have another white terror to deplore—in Hungary. The Hungarian fascists, they said, had already begun to hang Communists in the street. They might have ended with crematoria, concentration camps, a new fascism and a new war.

They recalled the dangers of non-intervention at the time of the Spanish civil war and asked whether the same approach was not valid for Hungary where, they said, counter-revolution had been prepared from the outside, as in Spain. In the show-down against fascism, anywhere, the Russians said, they were sure that their French counterparts would be in the same camp with them.

THE TOTAL PICTURE: The French were unconvinced. In an answering open letter they granted the danger of counter-revolution but said that the Russians had failed to see the total picture of a nation in revolt, of workers, above all, fighting to the last despite "cold, hunger and arrests . . . ready to die rather than yield on their demands."

The French asked: "Don't you think that in a country which has lived for ten years under a popular democratic regime in which the big feudal owners have been expropriated and large sectors of the economy nationalized, that the social and economic base of fascism would be extremely weakened and that it would be almost impossible for it to regain its conquests?"

The French said they believed that "a working class which is today capable of maintaining its demands with such fierce energy in such a turn of affairs, would have been able . . , to subdue its own fascists and restore order to its country." In any case, they said, only the Hungarian workers, peasants, soldiers and intellectuals could bring about a socialist regime adapted to the conditions of their country. "We regret," they added, "that Soviet troops, finding it impossible to distinguish between insurgent reactionaries and the population as a whole, striking indiscriminately to right and left, have gravely compromised that experience and that hope."

UNDOCUMENTED CHARGES: The French suggested that "if the Red Army retired now, it could not be accused of retreating before the fascists; it would be retiring in the face of the united will of the Hungarian workers, and it would thus play its proper role, a role no less glorious than the one it played before Hitler's armies."

The French complained that certain Russian allegations were not documented and asked to meet the Russian intellectuals to try sifting out the truth, and if necessary to go to Hungary as a commission of inquiry.

Claude Roy added a request that the Soviet intellectuals intercede with the Hungarian Writers Union to let him go to Hungary and report first-hand as he did in China. It was then that he cited Zola: "Truth is not simple . . ."

THE NEGRO PRESS ON HUNGARY AND EGYPT

Do hearts bleed for white skins only?

AFRICA'S TEARS "disappear quickly in the Sahara sands," drop into the Congo "and are lost in the sea." Her groans "are buried in the mines of Kimberley and Johannesburg . . . The Western heart . . . perhaps cannot translate the language of those whose words of pain are uttered in the tongues of colonial peoples." NAACP Washington bureau director Clarence Mitchell wrote those words in the Baltimore **Afro-American** (12/8) and added;

"It is a good thing to be concerned for Hungary and open our doors for refugees who have fled from that bloody prison. Yet there will always be more flight and more mass murder until all the powers of the West clean up their own households. When a technique is perfected that will prevent oppression in Africa, it will also work behind the iron curtain. When black men and women take their places in the governing bodies of their lands, we shall be a long step nearer the end of war."

WHY NOT EGYPTIANS? The **Afro** editorially expressed "the most profound sympathy for the oppressed and suffering Hungarians," applauded American Red Cross aid, and called admitting 21,500 refugees to U.S. homes "a magnificent humanitarian gesture." But why, the paper asked, had the American Red Cross "never seen fit to give succor to bombed and maimed Egyptians?"

"Why has there been no suggestion that asylum on these shores be granted a single one of the million Arabs uprooted from their land by the Israelis? Why has there not been one American suggestion that some of our surplus food be sent to the thousands starving in the streets of Port Said? Why is it that U.S. State Dept. hearts bleed only for those oppressed and downtrodden people of the world whose skins are white?"

Pittsburgh **Courier** editor P. L. Prattis (11/24) cited the so-called Mau Mau as "an oppressed and downtrodden" non-white people. When 6,000,000 native Kenyans sought return of some of their best lands from the 145,000 British settlers, with representation in the parliament, the colonizers resisted.

"RACE IS A FACT": Prattis wrote: "They sent soldiers and arms into Kenya. They sent airplanes into Kenya. From these planes they strafed and bombed bands of natives wherever they could find them. Thousands were killed and injured. Other thousands—some 72,000—were captured and placed in concentration camps . . . In the face of this there has been no expression of outrage from Russia, from Egypt, from Israel, from the United Nations. The slaughter in Kenya has been quite as sanguinary as any in the Middle East or Eastern Europe . . . But the conscience of the world does not pick up on the murder of these human beings fighting for THEIR FREEDOM and THEIR LAND."

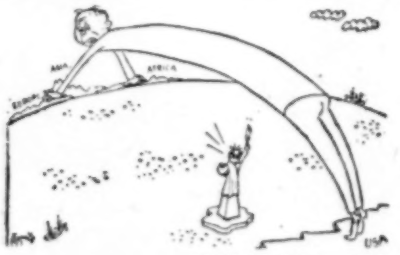
Courier UN correspondent Horace R. Cayton thought the West was trying desperately—and failing—to present the English-French Suez adventure "as devoid of racial implications." They failed, wrote Cayton, because "race is a fact" and inevitably plays a political role. He referred to a recent TV broadcast of Presidential assistant Sherman Adams:

"It was the policy of the United States, Mr. Adams said, to bring peace and justice to the world . . . But then the President's assistant let his true color shine through for one embarrassing moment. He said the 'white race' undoubtedly is going to hang together'."

HUNGER ALL OVER: "What about us?" demanded Associated Negro Press correspondent Alice Dunnigan. Millions of U.S. Negroes, "all for taking care of thousands of Hungarian refugees," ponder whether their government plans to do anything about "increased unemployment" and whether "our visiting friends from Hungary" will get first chance at jobs, housing and schooling. Will the "native U.S. Negro" be treated as second-class to the Hungarian newcomer? "Will all Americans still be able to share and share alike in the nation's economy?"

N.Y. **Amsterdam News** managing editor James L. Hicks (12/15) was "pretty well fed up with Hungarians and the Hungary problem." Not that he opposed such aid; but "I'm also for aid to THE HUNGRY" in the rest of the world. He said:

"Take the West Indian situation. One hurricane after another roared through these crowded areas of black people, and if there ever was a place that needed aid, this was it. But I didn't see anyone here get up on the rooftops and say: 'Let's bypass the McCarran Act and let 21,000 West Indians into this country to ease their suffering.' . . . I don't know. I suppose I'm just a maladjusted Negro. But it looks mighty funny to me that we Americans can sit back and watch black people from Ethiopia to Mississippi get their brains beat out by anyone who has enough guns to do the job without geting 'charitable' or excited."



Berliner Zeitung, Berlin

AMERICAN NON-INTERFERENCE
"Mr. President, what do you propose to do about the resistance to school integration in the South?"
"Nothing. I cannot interfere in the internal affairs of the Southern States."

WHAT COLOR FREEDOM: N. Y. City Councilman Earl Brown in the **Amsterdam News** (12/15) protested that while "our government [was sending] airplanes to Austria to whisk [Hungarians] to freedom in the U.S. by the thousands," Negro citizens were being "brutalized" in Clinton, Tenn. He asked whether the government, "through the Dept. of Justice, is going to wade into the [anti-Negro rioting] mess in Clinton" and enforce the law.

N.Y. **Herald Tribune** columnist David Lawrence (12/6) had already given his answer:

"Contrary to a widespread impression, the Federal government has no legal power to require or enforce 'integration' in the public schools of the nation . . . The petition of the school board of Clinton, Tenn., to Atty. Gen. Brownell to help enforce 'integration' would, if heeded, violate the Constitution itself."

A **Herald Tribune** editorial (12/15) was not referring to the Negroes of Clinton or Montgomery when it acclaimed "the unconquerable will of a people to find freedom." It was talking about Hungary.

THE UN-AMERICAN ROAD SHOW

Seattle witnesses clam up as smear gang hits new low

MRS. BARBARA HARTLE, who renounced Communism after 20 years in the party, was the only "friendly" witness to testify here. If Doyle and Scherer gained in Seattle information of legislative value, that information was obtained without the cooperation of a single additional witness.
—Seattle **Times**, Dec. 15, 1956

THE DOYLE and Scherer referred to are members of the subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee which completed a coast-to-coast series of hearings Dec. 14 in Seattle, full details of which reached the GUARDIAN too late for inclusion in the Dec. 24 issue. The single "friendly" witness, Mrs. Hartle, was convicted under the Smith Act in 1953 with other Northwest Communist leaders. As a Federal prisoner and since her release from prison she has been the chief Dept. of Justice fingerwoman in the Northwest.

Mrs. Hartle's role in the Seattle hearings Dec. 13-14 was to label as Communists those of her old friends and associates who have been active in the work of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in the states of Washington and Oregon.

A NEW LOW: From some 20 witnesses called—including two top Communist leaders, two attorneys, several trade union officials and selected other working people—the Committee got "icy calm," "outraged defiance," an array of Constitutional objections to procedures which hit a low even for Congressional investigations, but not a civil answer to a single question.

REP. CLYDE DOYLE
The insults come free

Committee counsel Richard Arens, veteran steersman of anti-alien legislation, literally howled bloody murder at one point in his efforts to provoke witnesses into perjury and contempt traps. Subcommittee chairman Clyde Doyle (D-Calif.) tossed smoking-car epithets at one woman lawyer witness, freely insulted others. But the Northwest progressives all stood pat.

Arens' "murder" calumnies were hurled at World War II Air Force pilot Clayton Van Lydegraf, holder of the Distinguished Flying Cross and the Air Medal for flights "over the hump" into China during the war. Arens accused Van Lydegraf of participating in the post-war Huk uprisings in the Philippines, of being a garrotter, and finally tried to pierce his stony silence by shouting at him:

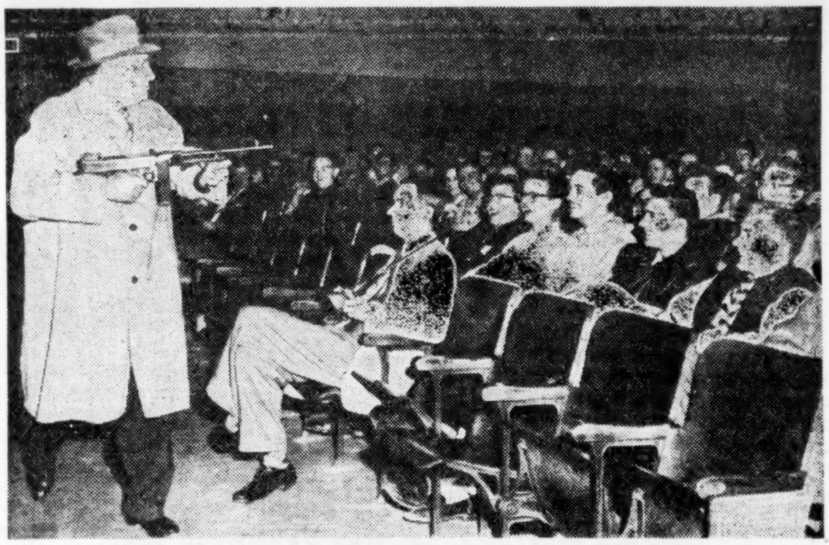
"You are a murderer on behalf of the Communist conspiracy. Now deny that under oath!"

"I decline to answer," said Van Lydegraf. After the hearing he told reporters he had never been to the Philippines. Van Lydegraf is well-known in the Northwest, not for Huk activity but as a war hero who in 1950 signed his $475 state bonus check over to the Communist Party.

COURT ORDER DENIED: The Committee had a second go at Rachmeil Forschmiedt, who served 30 days in jail and paid a $250 fine in 1951 for not specifying the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer the Committee's questions in 1948. At that time he lost his job as senior sanitarian after 14 years in the Seattle-King County Health Dept. This time they couldn't get him fired; he is now self-employed.

Prior to the Seattle hearings the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born tried unsuccessfully to get a Federal court order halting the proceedings. The investigators have made no secret of their intention to forestall ACPFB organization of opposition to the Walter-McCarran immigration law. Following the hearings the Quakers' regional office issued a statement expressing deep concern over the "implication of the present hearings that opposition to legislation may be considered subversive."

"Nothing could be more foreign to the American tradition," the Quakers' statement concluded.



HOW CRAZY CAN YOU GET (PICTORIAL DIVISION)
A demonstration of the "Communist technique of infiltration and takeover" was presented to the student body of Marquette University in Milwaukee on Dec. 15. Police detective C. R. Kasinski (above) as a red muscleman with a sub-machine gun, menaces his audience. When a "Communist official" shouted: "There has been a new government for the last hour," the students howled with glee. For a little year-end sanity, read the court's decision in the O'Connor case, below.

O'Connor cleared

(Continued from Page 1)

tence. At the sentencing O'Connor said: "The first Amendment is the crux of this case—freedom of writers to write books. It is the only question involved here." O'Connor then filed his appeal.

UNCERTAIN SCOPE: Last week the Appellate Court, composed of Chief Judge Henry W. Edgerton and Judges Warren E. Burger and Charles Fahy, unanimously ruled that McCarthy's question was so "imprecise and ambiguous" that O'Connor was justified in not answering it. Their opinion said:

"One cannot be held guilty of criminal contempt for refusing to answer a question, the intended scope of which is so uncertain that if he attempts to answer it truthfully, according to his understanding of the meaning, he runs the risk of being indicted for perjury because others understand it differently."

The Court did not rule on the First Amendment but its decision was another repudiation of the scattershot witch-hunting and the off-with-his-head use of contempt citations practiced by McCarthy in his hey-day. Unless the government appeals the decision to the Supreme Court the case against O'Connor will be quashed.

JOE'S PRETENSION: In Winnetka, Ill., O'Connor said: "The Appellate Court's ruling is a blow to McCarthy's pretension that a government bureaucrat has a right to investigate a citizen's politics. The American way has always been that it is the citizen who inquires into the office-holder's politics. When the politician has the power to pry into the citizen's mind, democracy is dead.

"I regret that the Appellate Court did not base its decision on the First Amendment which protects the citizen's freedom of opinion. Nevertheless, the unanimous decision is a decisive blow to un-American trends, of which Joe McCarthy was the leading exponent. The decision strengthens freedom in a world that badly needs to see freedom strengthened."

Corliss Lamont, vice-chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, of which O'Connor is chairman, commented:

"The unanimous decision . . . marks another important victory in the civil liberties struggle to keep Congressional investigating committees within Constitutional bounds. With O'Connor's victory, the record shows that the McCarthy committee has lost every single prosecution which it attempted. Respect for the Bill of Rights clearly demands that other contempt prosecutions initiated by the House Commitee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Committee should meet a similar fate."

Montgomery story

(Continued from Page 1)

transformed into an eve of gloomy catastrophe. With this dedication we will be able to emerge from the bleak and desolate midnight of man's inhumanity to man to the bright and glittering daylight of freedom and justice."

The number of white passengers increased on the second day. Negro and white persons mingled on the buses without serious incident, as they long had mingled in public elevators and in department stores.

To J. Edgar Hoover

WE NOTE that you have written an article calling the political use of FBI files "indefensible." We have never thought it was otherwise.

In fact, we were calling it worse things than indefensible from 1950 to 1952 when Senator Joseph McCarthy was reading from FBI reports to public audiences about the country. Those were the years when you were seen publicly with Senator McCarthy at various race tracks and when you repeatedly described him as a good American citizen.

Do you remember the late Sen. Pat McCarran's boast on the floor of the Senate that he took FBI files home for week-end reading. **(Capital Times)**

Witnesses unanimously agreed that the one near-serious incident was provoked by white-supremacists. It involved a Negro man who, as soon as he had taken a seat formerly reserved for white passengers, was accused by a loud-voiced woman of having winked at her and invited her to sit beside him. Witnesses presumed she had not noticed that his wife had followed him into the bus and would be expected to sit with him.

The white woman beat him on the head and shoulders with a book. He did not retaliate. She ignored the driver's suggestion to file charges against the man. Leaving at the next stop, she got into a car that had been trailing the bus.

A SHOT IS FIRED: On another bus, a white passenger sitting behind a Negro said to his white companion: "This isn't going to be a white Christmas." The Negro smiled and said: "Yes, sir, that's right." The whole bus smiled.

The most serious incident of all was reported casually and in a conversational tone by Dr. King in his church Sunday morning while talking about the Christian need to distribute baskets among their poor Negro and white neighbors. He said somebody had fired a shotgun blast through his front door at about 1:30 that morning. He observed quietly that killing him would solve no problem, for there would still be 50,000 Negroes to shoot. The congregation showed no excitement as he spoke.

The City Commission—Mayor W. A. Gale, Police Commissioner Clyde C. Sellers, and Frank Parks, who frequently boast of White Citizens Council membership—admitted defeat in a statement to the **Advertiser**:

"Now that our wise, time-tested and proper ordinance for the separation of the races on the buses has been declared void, we have neither city nor state law providing that the races be given separate but equal seats. . . . Although we consider the Supreme Court's decision to be the usurpation of the power to amend the Constitution, which belongs to the people and not to the court, we have no alternative but to recognize it. . . ."

BIRMINGHAM NEXT: Alabama's Public Service Commission, likewise defeated, promised to help other cities in the state to keep jimcrow buses. Negroes in Birmingham announced their intention to follow through on Montgomery's lead. They said they would "take whatever action is necessary."

Two of MIA's demands—non-segregated seating and courtesy to Negro riders on the part of the drivers—have been won through the court's action. The remaining task is to get Negro drivers on predominantly Negro routes.

As Tallahassee Mayor Humphres appealed to both races to "cooperate" in maintaining jimcrow buses, Negroes at a mass meeting voted unanimously to resume riding on a non-segregated basis immediately. Their protest began seven months ago.

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Middle East story

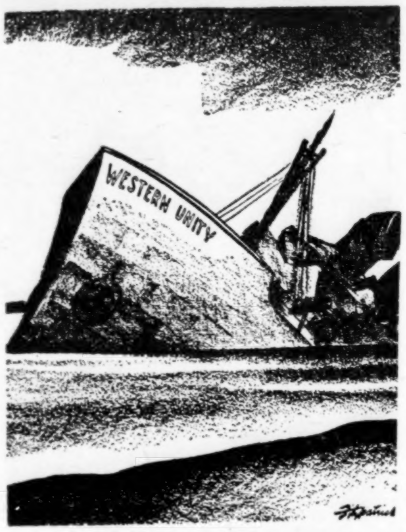
(Continued from Page 1)

trol of the canal and into negotiating a peace treaty with Israel. But Hammarskjold rejected any interpretation of the UN Nov. 2 resolution as calling for the maintenance of UNEF as a "military presence" on Egyptian soil to induce Cairo to settle the basic issues.

U.S. ATTITUDE: Washington held that the Suez issue should be settled on the basis of the six principles the UN approved unanimously last October. These are: (1) freedom of passage for all ships through the canal; (2) respect for Egyptian sovereignty; (3) canal operation to be "insulated" from Egyptian politics; (4) toll rates to be fixed by agreement between Cairo and canal users; (5) a fair proportion of tolls to be reserved for canal development; (6) disagreement between Egypt and the canal users and the former Canal Co. to be arbitrated.

U.S. Secy. of State Dulles two weeks ago reiterated the Administration's proposal for resolving the Israel-Arab conflict through economic assistance in resettling the Arab refugees, developing river valley projects and through treaties guaranteeing Israel-Arab borders agreed upon by both sides. But, as Indian Premier Nehru said in Washington, it has become nearly impossible to attempt any lasting solution of Middle East problems until passions raised by the invasion have cooled.

PACT TROUBLE: In his address to UN members on Dec. 20 Nehru, in fact, referred to military alliances as one of the causes breeding international conflicts. This was borne out by events in Syria and Iraq in consequence of the Baghdad Pact.



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Big Suez salvage job.

Popular Iraqi opposition to pro-Western Premier Nuri es-Said's adherence to the Baghdad Pact has increased to the point of threatening the stability of the government. On Nov. 29 Nuri arrested five opposition political leaders, including Kamel Chadurchy, former Economy and Transport Minister and president of the proposed National Congress party.

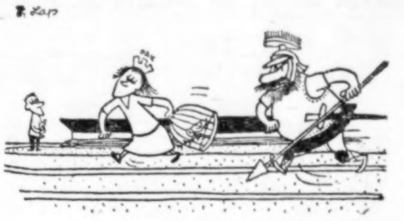
Charges against the defendants were "attempting to overthrow the government by force and violence." But defense counsel said they were in reality based on their Nov. 20 petition to King Feisal II urging Iraq's withdrawal from the Baghdad Pact. On Dec. 19, after a court-martial trial, Chadurchy was sentenced to three years at hard labor; vice-president of the outlawed Istiqlal (Independence) party Samaree and lawyer Shenshal, both deputies in parliament, were interned in a border village; and another deputy and the Bar Assn. president were put under $14,000 bond for one year.

REPRESSION: The trials came after a series of protest demonstrations against the Baghdad Pact by urban workers and students, violently suppressed by the Nuri government. The Iraqi press was not permitted to report any of these incidents. But suppression of last month's demonstrations and the secret court-martial seemed to have spread the discontent further into the interior.

On Dec. 18 a peasant uprising 115 miles from Baghdad resulted in the death of six policemen. The government rushed 1,000 police to the scene, and order was restored only after the police had inflicted heavy casualties on the peasants. The jittery Nuri government established three new Army garrisons on the outskirts of Baghdad.

There has been conflict between Iraq and Syria over the Baghdad Pact, aggravated during the war in Egypt by Syrians damaging the Iraqi oil pipeline passing through Syria. On Dec. 22, Damascus announced that a military judge had ordered court-martial of 47 prominent Syrian political figures on charges of plotting a revolt to set up a pro-Iraqi government. Of those charged, 29 were under arrest and 18 were reported to have fled to Lebanon.

COMPLEX ISSUES: Syria accused Iraqi Premier Nuri of supplying large quantities of British-made arms to a group composed of the deposed Syrian dictator, President Shishekly, members of the outlawed Social-Nationalist party, and ex-Army Col. Mohammed Safa, former Syrian military attache in Washington. The group was said to have counted on an Israeli attack on Syria to divert attention from its attempted coup.



Canard Enchaine, Paris
OLYMPIC MARATHON

Simultaneously it was reported that Syrian Premier Sabri el-Assali's cabinet had voluntarily resigned so that "a more harmonious" cabinet could be formed out of the recently organized National Front, which includes the left parties and a majority of parliament members.

The Syrian-Iraqi conflict undoubtedly will come up before the UN General Assembly. So will the Egyptian demand for reparations from Britain, France and Israel for war damages. Also expected is an Israeli demand for compensation from Egypt for losses due to border raids and blockage of Israeli-bound ships through the Suez Canal. When UN members reassemble after the holiday recess, they will face Middle East issues more complicated than ever before.

How Candid Can You Get?

Illinois State Treasurer Warren Wright, testifying before the Senate Banking Committee on the $1,300,000 scandal around State Auditor Orville E. Hodge, was asked whether he favored legislation to prohibit bankers from making campaign contributions.

Wright said he would be opposed to such a law because "it would destroy our two-party system."

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DETROIT LABOR FORUM MEETINGS: HARVEY O'CONNOR "Oil & the Mid-East Crisis," Fri., Jan. 4, 8 p.m. **CAREY McWILLIAMS**, "Civil Rights-Sore Spot in America's Democracy," Wed., Jan. 23, 8 p.m. Contribution 50c. Highland Park YMCA, 13220 Woodward.

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REVOLTS IN EASTERN EUROPE
Speaker: Harry Braverman, Editor, American Socialist. Sun., Jan. 13, 8 p.m. Republican Hotel. 907 N. 3 St., Room A. Discussion period. Cont. 75c. Ausp.: **AMERICAN SOCIALIST.**

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ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON speaks on "The Role of Africa in World Events", Fri., Jan. 4, 8:30 p.m. Benjamin Franklin Hotel. Adm. $1.50. Benefit Legal Fund of Dismissed Teachers.

Los Angeles

DILEMMA OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS Public Forum, Fri., Jan. 11, 8 p.m., Auditorium First Unitarian Church, 2936 West 8 St. (near Vermont & 8th). Speakers and panelists: **CLARENCE WESLEY**, Apache chief, vice-pres. National Congress American Indians; **ATALOA**, Chickasaw, singer, lecturer, Indian Council leader; **OLA BECKETT**, field director, Bureau Indian Affairs; **ALIDA C. BOWLER**, first woman Indian Agency superintendent; **MYRON** and **VIRGINIA DENETDALE**, Navajo graduates Riverside Sherman Institute. Admission: 75 cents.

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Mr. Thoreau, won't you come back?

THE WEEK'S most discouraging bulletin was the discovery by Mr. William S. White of what he calls the "Consensus American." Mr. White, an excellent reporter, had been doing political surveys before the late election; it seems that he was also doing a character-survey on the side, and we now have his results before us.

Mr. White testifies that the Southern character, as a separate entity has all but disappeared. Nobody had any doubts how Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont would vote, so Mr. White did not visit those regions; and we can testify that some Yankees are resisting TV and have not yet developed the "quasi-slurred, semi-nasal quality of voice that one hears from Fifth Avenue to Milwaukee."

But if the south has started to go Republican—or even go Ike—it is hard to imagine what other influences will keep son Thomas from getting like all the rest of us. We can well believe then, (apart from vestigial Yankeeism), that we are all alike—there is a Consensus American.

THIS GUY, and we paraphase Mr. White, is tolerant and philanthropic, with a juvenile love of two-toned cars with fish-tail backs; vitaminized, homogenized, slenderized and tranquillized; he has more information, both right and wrong, than ever before; he is less indignant at injustice abroad, less partisan at home, less likely to believe random accusations. The demagogue will fail to move him, either because he is more sophisticated or, more probable, because he is "fatly contented." He is outwardly at least relaxed in the face of problems both small and great. He does not want to be a capitalist, but he is backing very hard for security.

He is no persecutor of non-conformity; but "he looks with troubled eyes upon a man, say, who confesses that he can leave golf alone much easier than he can take it." He will "produce less and less poetry and more and more marketable articles . . . he will burn fewer witches and he will dream safer dreams; he will fight fewer battles and make more accommodations—most of them good and useful accommodations. . . . (This) stance of life is in some respects fine but it is also rather dull. Everything is so very moderate that almost everyone, regardless of individual position, seems to come out to be both middle-class and middle-aged."

REACTIONS to this individual will, perhaps, differ . . . We ourselves with our classical leanings, were irresistibly reminded of a man called Pliny the Younger: honorable, well-intentioned, vain, generous, a faithful civil servant with no initiative, interested a little in everything and in nothing very much, believing really in nothing at all. And on the whole this was the best sort of character with which the Roman Empire had to face superstition, anti-intellectualism, the collapse of the family, cynicism, despair, and the Teutonic barbarians. Read his pathetic letter to Trojan (A.D. 112) asking what on earth to do about these Christians; and you will see how impossible it was for him to cope with fanaticism.

Likewise the Consensus American can do nothing about a belief fanatically held except dislike it, turn in the other direction, and hope it will go away. How could we possibly have imagined that we could either do anything valuable, being what we are, or deal with anyone who wanted to take our place in the sun?

HENRY DAVID THOREAU plainly was not one of the Consensus. He did not buy what he did not need; and spent his life as self-appointed inspector of a few square miles of Massachusetts earth. Out of that life came one great book, a large body of honest writing, and a consistent character. On Nov. 30, 1859 he notes in his journal "I am one of a committee of four . . . instructed by a meeting of citizens to ask liberty from the selectmen to have the bell of the first parish tolled at the time Capain (John) Brown is being hanged. . . . I applied to the selectmen yesterday. After various delays, they at length answer me to-night that they 'are uncertain whether they have any control over the bell, but that, in any case, they will not give their consent to have the bell tolled'."

And he characteristically closes the entry with a note about the late peeping of frogs.

It would seem that Thoreau's independence was dead in America, as indeed the state of Massachusetts apparently wishes to make clear by turning Walden Pond into an amusement area. But his influence moved East, and was one of the two or three greatest examples for Gandhi—fair enough, since Thoreau had been a great lover of "Hindoo" literature.

And it will continue true, that if we do not preserve what is most valuable in our midst, somebody else will take over for us, and in the end we shall have nothing left worth preserving or existing for. The choice is quite up to us.

—The Witness, Dec. 13.

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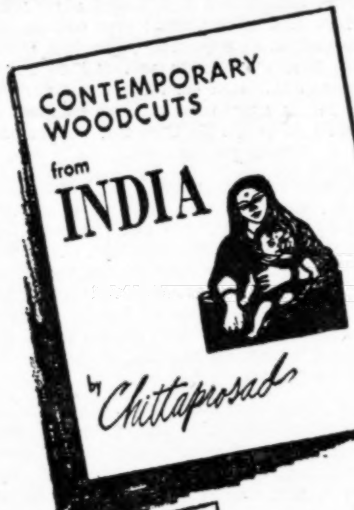

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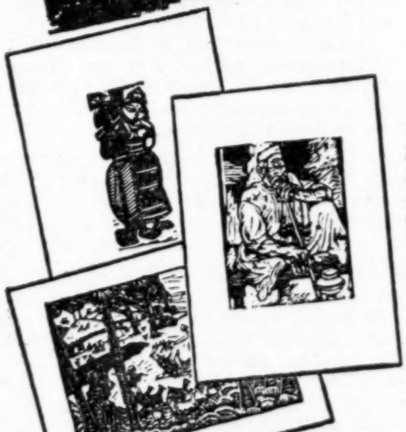

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the SPECTATOR

Supermarket culture

By Michael Gold

WE HAVE JUST FINISHED with another annual art festival in San Francisco. This is becoming a new and popular institution among the cities of our land. The festival here was held in the second largest hall after Ike's huge Cow Palace. The city paid the bills, meaning that some of the businessmen and their politicoes must now be convinced that art is as lovable and important as the dog-catching department in a city's life.

Anyway, it was a good show, a mingling of Coney Island and the ACA Gallery on 57th Street. Hundreds of painters and sculptors exhibited their work and themselves. Some wore ragged existentialist beards, others looked hungry, a condition still to be found among the talented young in hog-fat America.

Many artisans also displayed their peasant labors; weavers at their looms, potters at the wheel, jewelry makers, basket makers and other such orphans of the machine age. There were provocative models and projects by modern architects with a new way of life, and a city orchestra played jolly tunes from Offenbach, Mozart and Gershwin.

Also hot dogs and canned beer were sold, and the living primitives of San Francisco, the machinists, longshoremen and clerical workers, strolled in hand-holding couples, munching popcorn and candy bars, guzzling beer and coke, wisecracking, staring, absorbing new sensations like people at a country fair.

The local press made a daily splash about it; art became news. Lady Culture, usually locked away in a dim museum nunnery, was our lively Queen for a Day. I, for one, think this is a good thing in American life—hot dogs and all.

RUSSELL LYNES, brilliant and observant editor of **Harper's** magazine, has hailed these festivals as a "marriage between commerce and culture."

I visited the one in Boston last year. It bowled me over, for its quantity and quality, both. The beautiful Public Gardens were occupied by great green-striped circus tents. To an audience of 9,000 Carl Sandburg read his rugged democratic verse, and to 12,000 people Martha Graham and her tortured troupe danced out the agonies of the great Freudian search. The painting show was the chief attraction. It stirred up a great dogfight in the Boston press, one of those wonderful public brawls between the people and the intellectuals that are so good for spreading wider the consciousness of art.

There was a fine opera performance, and the artisans, of course, and some of the circus features. It was all as free as the free air of heaven: no admission was charged. The merchants of Boston paid the bills, because their statisticians had convinced them that the festival attracted half a million people and brought in a million dollars in new sales to retail business. Art is liked by people, they learned.

There are only ten such festivals as yet, but New York is to hold one in 1957, and cities like Atlanta, Cincinnati, St. Paul, Philadelphia and other centers of commerce are "studying the proposition.".

THESE ART FESTIVALS seem to me a sign of a certain change in the mind of America. Despite the poison fog of the cold war and its numerous repressions, the people are still pushing forward and upward. Frustrated in politics, the democracy tries to express itself in a new hunger for culture. That must be the meaning of such scattered developments as the growth of paper-back books.

I can remember the time, 30 years ago, when I tried to find a book to read in Mobile, Ala., and failed—because there wasn't a public library or a single bookshop in that old city. Today paper-backs are sold everywhere in America, at railroad stations, drug stores, barber shops and hot dog dispensaries. Many of them are classics, both old and new, and very fine and thoughtful books too.

Even the public libraries are breaking out of the musty-brown Victorian walls and finding modern ways of reaching the people. And the people respond, as I saw in Louisville, Ky., where the main library is as crowded all day as a popular flashy hotel lobby. And why not? Chief Librarian Skip Graham has given his all to the customers. He has even given them a comfortable TV room.

The customer loads up one of those supermarket pushcarts with all the books he craves, also reproductions of paintings he wants to hang in his home, also a bundle of phonograph records and even some films for his home projector. The library runs two FM stations with fine music. It is a dynamic headquarters for the city's culture, and the patronage has more than doubled in a year. Other American libraries are reaching out in the same manner, and finding response among the people.

HOW ABOUT THE AMAZING GROWTH of the "off-Broadway" theater, not only in New York but everywhere? Pete Seeger, the great folk singer and educator, whom I call the "Karl Marx of the teen-agers", likes to remind his audiences that a million guitars were sold in this country last year. It means that the coming generation will be more open to music and to democratic feelings, he says.

I agree with the noble young Pete. The people are in motion here; they are going somewhere in their culture. Democratic emotions, not fascist or even Chamber of Commerce, are being aroused. Doubt, faith, wonder, despair and the mysteries of art are being spread—the whole of man's humanist tradition. The progressives of America belong somewhere in this new "supermarket" culture. Let's join up!